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DAS ŠAŠŠARU DES ŠAMAŠ

Von TH. DOMBART, München

Unsere Abhandlung über „Das babylonische Sonnentor und die Säge des Šamaš“ im vorigen Jahrgang (*JSOR.* XII, p. 1—24) war zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, daß das ^{il}šaššaru ša ^{il}Šamaš keineswegs ein vorgestellter göttlicher Himmelsschlüssel im Sinn eines Fallriegelschlüssels sein könne, sondern tatsächlich, wie das Wort es ausdrücke, eine regelrechte, eingriffige „Säge“ sei, die in der Hand des Sonnengottes dargestellt werde als Symbol für den ersten Sonnenstrahl, der durch die schmale Ritze in der Mitte zwischen den zwei Flügeln einer Flügeltüre blitzblank hindurchstreiche, wie ein Sägeblatt, das sich seinen Weg durchs Holz bahnt, und daß darum statt des (früher primitiv in Form eines leichtgebogenen oder flammend gewellten Szepters dargestellten) Sonnenstrahls mehr und mehr die „Säge“ als Hoheitssymbol des Sonnengottes in dessen Hand erscheint.

Obwohl unsere Abhandlung in kleinen Nebenpunkten noch auf bloße logische Schlüsse angewiesen war, konnte die wissenschaftliche Kritik ihr die Zensur eines „ausführlichen und überzeugenden Nachweises“ obigen Ergebnisses zusprechen (F. H. Weißbach im *Lit. Z. Bl.*, Mai 1928). Immerhin ist es aber noch von Wichtigkeit, jetzt darauf hinweisen zu können, wie gerade ein logisches Postulat bedeutungsvollster Anschaulichkeit inzwischen seine dokumentarische Erfüllung fand, und zwar gerade um die Zeit, als unsere oben genannte Abhandlung herauskam.

a. a. O., Seite 17 hatten wir nämlich nach Besprechung der noch als Originale vorhandenen wie der nur literarisch bezeugten Sägen in Form des Šamašszepters gesagt: „Wenn die oben erwähnten Instrumente aus Bronze sind, wir aber aus den Texten hören, daß nicht nur Sägen aus diesem Metall vorkamen, sondern z. B. auch solche aus

Silber, so dürfen wir uns in der Hand des Sonnengottes als Hoheitszeichen wohl auch eine goldene oder vergoldete Säge der dargestellten Form denken.“

Daß bisher kein solches Wertobjekt als gefunden vorlag, war ja nicht zu verwundern, denn Goldgegenstände sind je und je meist geraubt



Abb. 1.

worden, ehe sie vom Schutt der Jahrtausende bedeckt worden wären. Und daß ein goldenes Šaššaru auch literarisch nicht bezeugt ist bisher, das erweist sich nun mit Sicherheit als reiner Zufall, denn im Fürstengrab des Mes-kalam-dug zu Ur kam bei Woolleys erfolgreichen Ausgrabungen¹ auch eine völlig unserm Postulat entsprechende eingriffige „Säge“ aus reinem Gold zutage (Abb. 1) aus der Zeit um 2000 v. Chr., also aus der gleichen Epoche, aus der auch die meisten unserer seinerzeit zahlreich beigegebenen Rollsiegelbilder stammen, auf denen Šamaš mit seinem Sägeszepter dargestellt ist.

Daß eine solche Säge aus lauterem Gold nicht handwerklichen, sondern nur symbolischen Charakter haben kann, liegt auf der Hand, sei es, daß der Fürst, in dessen Grab sie sich fand, als Stellvertreter des Šamaš auf Erden dessen Hoheitszeichen zur Schau trug, oder daß ihm diese symbolische Sonnenstrahlsäge mit ins

Grab gegeben war, um ihm dienlich zu sein beim Eintritt ins Jenseits.

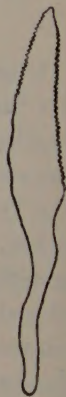


Abb. 2.

Der Abbildung wert ist außerdem nachtragsweise hier doch auch noch ein Stück (Abb. 2), auf das in unserer früheren Abhandlung (S. 16, Fußnote 60) zunächst nur mittelbar hingewiesen war. Denn auch bei ihm handelt es sich um einen (wenngleich schon älteren) Ausgrabungsfund (aus Telloh),² um eine kleine, eingriffige, „aus mittelsumerischer Zeit“ stammende Handsäge, diesmal von Kupfer (21 cm lang), die, doppelseitig gezähnt, in ihrer für technische Zwecke ziemlich ungeeigneten, mehrfach gewellten Gestalt (nach Art einer lodernden Flamme) noch ausdrücklich an die ganz ähnlich gebogenen Flammenstrahlen (Abb. 3) erinnert, welche auf den Siegelbildern dem Sonnengott aus den Schultern hervorlohen und deren eine er dann vielfach auch in der Hand hat als Szepter (cf. besonders unsere seinerzeitigen Abbildungen 3. 8. 9. 13. 14. 19).

¹ *The Illustr. London News* 1928 (21. Jan.), Nr. 4631, p. 91.

² Gaston Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, Paris 1910, p. 99.

Und wenn wir zum Schluß von den seinerzeit (S. 18) erwähnten Vorstellungsanalogien aus der bildenden Kunst wie aus der Literatur unserer Zeit zwei ganz moderne Beispiele nennen sollen, die zeigen, wie wenig fern und gar nicht fremd auch unserer neuesten Zeitauffassung die im Sonnenstrahlsägeszepter der Babylonier so deutlich werdende babylonische Vorstellungswelt ist, so sei hingewiesen einmal auf ein 1928 zu München in der „Christlichen Kunst“ ausgestellt gewesenes Ölgemälde „Maria mit dem Kind“ von Prof. Otto Bauriedel,

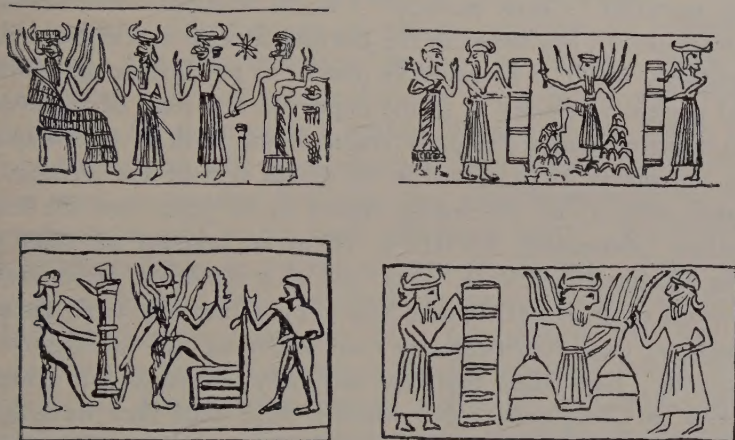


Abb. 3. (Verschiedene Siegelbilder.)

wobei das Madonnenhaupt von drei goldgelben Nimbusstrahlen umspielt war, während das Jesuskind einen genau solchen Lichtstrahl als Szepter spielend in den Händchen hielt.

Und in einer Novelle von Willy Seidel, „Uhrenspuk“, finden wir eine Schilderung geboten, die, wie wir zugeben müssen, ganz ähnlich auch von einem babylonischen Schriftsteller hätte niedergeschrieben sein können, denn sie lautet: „Ein einziger messerscharfer Sonnenstrahl, der seinen Weg ins halbverdunkelte Gemach gefunden, beleuchtete den ... Körper...“

JOSEPHUS AND CHRISTIAN ORIGINS

By JOSHUA BLOCH, New York Public Library

THE extravagant claims made in recent years for the authenticity of the Slavonic fragments of Josephus have led to a renewed discussion of the so-called "Christ passages"¹ in his writings. Several statements are extant, attributed to the Jewish historian and embedded in his writings, which, if he could be proven to be their actual author, would present testimony of prime importance to some of the events which occurred during the early stages of the birth of Christianity. These statements, as preserved in the Greek text of the writings of Josephus offer a) an interesting report as to Jesus and the early Christians (*Antiquities* XVIII, 3, 3), b) an account of John the Baptist (*Antiquities* XVIII, 5, 2), and c) a statement as to James, the brother of Jesus (*Antiquities* XX, 9, 1). If actually from the pen of Josephus, these statements are most important for the history of Christianity, since they represent the only external, first-century witnesses to Christianity. No wonder then, that they have been submitted to the closest cross-examination and scrutiny. The general result of the inquiry into the authenticity of their testimony has been to establish an almost unanimous opinion among scholars, that they represent, not a homogeneous body, but three distinct pieces of evidence, one of which is distinctly bad, another a distinctly good and a third, very probably, good.

Josephus is above all an authority for the period in which he himself lived, a period to which belongs the composition of most of the writings contained in the New Testament. It is therefore both interesting and necessary to consider his life and back-ground, in order to properly evaluate the problem presented herewith. Flavius Josephus,² a native of Jerusalem, was born in the year 37-38 C.E.,

¹ The term "Christ passages" as employed in the present study refers to several sections in the writings of Josephus which are most relevant to a proper understanding of the New Testament and of Christian origins.

² Though known as Josephus Flavius, his proper name was Joseph b. Mattathias, Josephus being the Latinized form of the Hebrew *Joseph*, and his patronymic being exchanged, when he went over to the Romans, for the family name of his patron, Flavius.

the first year of the reign of Gaius Caesar (Caligula), the insane emperor. The family belonged to the priestly aristocracy of Jerusalem; and of his father, Josephus tells that "distinguished as he was by his noble birth ... he was even more esteemed for his upright character, being among the most notable men in Jerusalem."³ On his mother's side, Josephus was connected with the royal house of the Hasmoneans. Pontius Pilate had been recalled from Judea the year before Josephus was born, and subsequently Herod Agrippa I received his liberty and his kingdom from the new emperor. At the age of sixteen, attracted to solitude and asceticism, Josephus withdrew among the Essenes, whose communities led a kind of cenobitic life on the shores of the Dead Sea. He became for three years a faithful disciple of one Banus, a resident of the desert who wore no other clothing than that which grew upon trees, ate no other food than that which grew wild, and bathed frequently in cold water, both night and day.⁴ The disciples of Banus claimed him as a rival to John the Baptist; though he was merely an Essene, more advanced in ascetic ways than the rest. The rigid discipline of this type of religious life was more fashionable in the first century of the Christian era among Gentiles than among Jews. Three years of such a life was apparently sufficient for Josephus and he therefore abandoned the idea of becoming a hermit. Yet, the tenets and communistic life of the Essenes left a lasting impression upon him. At the age of nineteen, Josephus returned to Jerusalem and became a follower of the Pharisaic teachings. Thus he joined hands with the popular, irreconcilable and uncompromising party, without however breaking altogether with the Sadducean aristocracy to which his family belonged. The Pharisees were essentially the party that upheld the whole tradition and the separateness of Israel. One recalls how that St. Paul speaks of himself as "a Pharisee of the Pharisees, and zealous beyond those of his own age in the Jews' religion."⁵ Of the early manhood of Josephus one outstanding event is recorded—his visit to Rome at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven in the year 64, the year of the burning of Rome and the persecution of the Christians—for the purpose of pleading the cause of certain priests who had been

³ *Life* 2. Thackeray's edition (in the Loeb Classical Library), p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See Acts 23, 6, and cf. Norman Bentwich, *Josephus*, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 39.

sent up by Felix for trial. When two years later he returned to Jerusalem, he witnessed the commencement of the war which was to end, in 70 C.E., with the destruction of Jerusalem and the downfall of the Jewish state. He took an active part in the war on the side of the Jews, and became a general in the army. While in command of the Jewish troops in Galilee, Josephus surrendered to Vespasian and foretold his elevation to the imperial throne. When the war was ended he went to Rome with the victors and there lived in comfort for the rest of his days. Vespasian made him a Roman citizen, gave him a pension, and placed at his disposal an apartment in the house he had occupied before he was raised to the throne. Josephus is supposed to have died in Rome after the year 100 C.E.

Besides his *Life* and his defense of the Jewish people, *Against Apion*, two great historical works have come from the pen of Josephus. *The Jewish War*, consisting of seven books, was composed in the year 78 and dedicated to his benefactors, Vespasian and Titus. It is the earliest and most famous of his writings. In the year 93 or 94 Josephus published his greater work, the *Jewish Antiquities*, consisting of twenty books, in which he set forth an apologetic history of the Jewish people and of their religion, from the beginning down to the year 66 C.E. It was highly esteemed by the Romans for whom it was especially written. These few facts as to Josephus and his work are essential for a proper appreciation of the fact that few contemporaries of the apostolic age were better able than he, to learn and to tell of some of the events connected with the beginnings of Christianity, even if as an outside and hostile witness.

The importance of the writings of Josephus for a proper understanding of the period which gave rise to the various sects in Judaism prior to the birth of Christianity has long been recognized. In the study of the history of Christianity his authority has been acknowledged almost from the beginning. Apologists for the teachings of Christianity cite Josephus as an authority while Jerome and many later writers number him among the ecclesiastical authors. Josephus was writing in the last decade of the first century when Christianity was only one of the sects within Judaism and Jesus of Nazareth was known as a Jewish faction-leader. Josephus in his endeavor to record the events of the day and particularly the teachings of the various sects within contemporary Jewry not improbably took cognizance also of the early Jewish Christians. Being

an offshoot of Judaism, their existence deserved mention in a history of contemporary Jewish affairs. But some passages in writings now attributed to him do more than that; they not only record the existence of the Christians but by implication give the impression that Josephus knew Christianity in the same manner as it became known in later centuries. Accordingly it appears that Josephus, the orthodox Jew, accepted and endorsed the Christian tradition as to the various Messianic claims for Jesus. It is doubtful whether the expression of such sentiments can reasonably be expected from the pen of a professing orthodox Jew.

I

Jesus of Nazareth (Antiquities XVIII, 3, 3)

Now about this time lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed he should be called a man. For he was a doer of marvellous acts, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; and he won over to himself many Jews and many also of the Greek nation. He was the Christ. And when, on the indictment of the principal men among us, Pilate had sentenced him to the cross, yet did not those who had loved him at the first cease (to do so); for he appeared to them alive again on the third day, as the divine prophet had declared—these and ten thousand other wonderful things—concerning him. And even now the race of Christians, so named from him, is not extinct.

It is admitted that this passage is found in all the known manuscripts of the *Antiquities*, which has come down in a Greek text, and ever since it was quoted by Eusebius and others⁶ no one throughout the middle ages doubted its authenticity. It was not before the sixteenth century⁷ that serious criticism was applied to it. Though this criticism promptly met with sharp refutation, the controversy *pro* and *con* has gone on uninterruptedly to the present day. The suspicions excited by the passage have originally arisen from dog-

⁶ See Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* I, 11, 7 f.; *Demonstr. Evang.* III, 5, pp. 105–106 ed. Grisford; *Theoph.* V, 44; cf. Pseudo-Hegesippus, *De bello Judaico* II, 12). The passage is also quoted by Jerome (*De vir. illustr. in Josepho*), Isidorus (IV, ep. 225), Cassiodorus (*Hist. tripart. e Sozomeno*).

⁷ Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) was the first to suspect the passage. Since his day an enormous literature has been written on the subject. See the bibliography in Emil Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1901, v. 1, 4th ed., pp. 544 f., and in H. St. John Thackeray's *Selections from Josephus*, London, 1919, pp. 182 f.

matic considerations. Textual and linguistic grounds either in favor of its authenticity or against it were seldom advanced until quite recent years. A. Whelock, Professor of Oriental Languages at Cambridge, wrote as follows: "I would as soon let Josephus be wholly lost to the world as allow the Christian Church to be deprived of that jewel."⁸ To this very day there are not lacking men who defend the authenticity of the whole passage, though other scholars have not hesitated to assert that it has gone through revision by Christian hands. It is thought by some scholars that the testimony contained in the passage is too definite to be genuine. Others think it to be too good to be true. Hence the whole passage, or certain expressions in it, have been declared to be later Christian interpolations in the text of Josephus.

That it is wholly an interpolation is the opinion of an ever-increasing number of critical students. Most of those scholars who have studied the problem are evidently unanimous in the conclusion they have reached that the words as they now stand in the Greek text of Josephus' *Antiquities*, were not written by Josephus. They are either wholly or partly interpolated.⁹ He could not have written them unless he had been a Christian. Efforts have been made to adduce the very passage as evidence of the claim that Josephus was at heart a Christian. The belief that Josephus says "Jesus was the Christ," presupposes the assumption that he accepted him as such, which of course was not the case. William Whiston (1667-1752), Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, whose English rendering of the writings of Josephus has gained greater popularity than any other similar work, maintained¹⁰ that Josephus became a Christian and died as Bishop of Jerusalem, but no evidence in support of such claim is available. If the claim that Josephus was a Christian be

⁸ Quoted by Carl Clemens, in *The Biblical World*, New Series, 1905, v. 25, p. 363.

⁹ There are a number of scholars, who, while admitting heavy interpolations, endeavor to save some fragments of the passage. See e.g. Théodore Reinach's "Josèphe sur Jésus," in *Revue des Études Juives*, 1897, v. 35, pp. 1-18; P. Corsen, in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1914, v. 15, pp. 114-140. Cf. Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, New York, 1925, pp. 55-60. Among those who have attempted to reconstruct possible originals are Gustav A. Müller, *Christus bei Josephus Flavius*, Innsbruck, 1890, and Kurt Linck, *De antiquissimis veterum quae ad Iesum Nazarenum spectant testimoniis*, Giessen, 1913. Cf. Case in *American Journal of Theology*, 1913, v. 17, p. 627.

¹⁰ See his *Dissertation I*. For an admirable treatment of "The Religion of Josephus Flavius," see James A. Montgomery in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 1921, v. 11, pp. 277-305.

true, he certainly lacked the courage of his convictions. The direct references to Jesus of Nazareth found in his writings are of the scantiest. It seems as if he went out of his way to avoid mentioning the new religion. In fact he never employs the word σωτήρ,¹¹ and nowhere in his voluminous writings does he discuss or explain the Messianic hope, so indispensable for a proper understanding of that period of Jewish history, and especially of the Jewish war around which practically all his literary work centered.

Josephus, the friend of the Pharisees, could not have spoken of Jesus as the Messiah without inconsistency. Such statement on his part would have been most offensive to the Romans. While it was easy for Josephus to pass over the mention of Jesus altogether, it was utterly in conflict with his policy to speak of Jesus in praise, much more so to express his belief in Jesus' Messianic claims.¹² It is most curious, that both friends and foes of the passage draw support in favor of their respective arguments from the fact that Josephus was *not* a Christian. Josephus, Jew and Pharisee that he was, could not have said of Jesus that he was the Christ and that he arose on the third day as was foretold by the prophets of the Old Testament. On the other hand, those who claim him as the author of the passage assert that no Christian would write of Jesus that he was a wise man "if it be lawful to call him a man." That could be done only by a Jew, who professes Judaism, and not by a Christian. Nor would a Christian speak of Jesus as having done wonderful works. Those who attribute to Josephus the authorship of the passage claim also that no Christian would describe Christians as a "tribe" (το φύλον). The word "tribe" and the word "man" therefore indicate that the passage is of Jewish authorship.¹³

¹¹ Except in the two disputed passages (*Ant.* XVIII, 3, 3 and XX, 9, 1) Josephus nowhere uses the word χριστός or χριστιανοί nor does he use the Hebrew term מֶסִיחָא.

¹² Josephus could not have spoken of Jesus as the Messiah. In his day the Jewish hopes of the Messiah were politically dangerous. It was a source of much trouble to the Roman authorities; Josephus therefore spoke of them as little as possible. When he could not help mentioning them he did not hesitate to indicate them as the cause of the Jewish war against the Romans (*Jewish War* VI, 5, 4). In another place (*Ant.* XVIII, 5, 2) too, where he could have referred to them, he simply passes them over in silence.

¹³ Attempts have been made to find stylistic evidence favoring Josephus' authorship of the passage (Harnack in *Internationale Monatshefte für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, Berlin, 1913, v. 7, col. 1037-1068). But E. Norden's keen linguistic analysis of the passage (in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, Berlin, 1913, v. 31, pp. 637 ff.)

It is interesting that Origen, who lived in the third century, and who was well acquainted with the writings of Josephus, as is evident from the fact that he cites him to prove the historic existence of John the Baptist, twice expressly says that Josephus did not believe in the Messianic claims of Jesus.¹⁴ Now it is rather remarkable that Origen in an endeavor to make out a case favorable to Christianity against the scoffer Celsus would cite Josephus as not believing in Jesus the Christ. He must have had evidence to that effect. It is highly probable that Origen bases his assertion about Josephus on some direct statement made by him but which is no longer extant. In fact, from what is known of Josephus, one may infer that he was not exceptionally friendly to Christianity—on this, all students of Josephus seem to be generally agreed. It is certainly difficult to imagine that Josephus would emphatically assert the Messiahship of Jesus. Such an assertion by Josephus, had it been known to Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Origen, would have become in their hands a deadly weapon to employ against the Jews and against the scoffer Celsus. "This weapon was, however, forged not long after Origen's day."¹⁵ Eusebius seems to have been the first to realize how useful the passage could be made for Christian apologetical purposes, and quotes it, as it has so often been quoted after him, as an independent testimony from an outsider as to the historical truth of the Christian belief—that Jesus was the Christ and that he rose from the dead.¹⁶

led him to the definite conclusion that its authorship cannot be attributed to Josephus. It is not safe to draw conclusions from linguistic evidence that Eusebius was the author of the passage. (See Dr. Solomon Zeitlin in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 1918, v. 18, pp. 237-240.) It is not unlikely that the lines may represent the work of different hands.

¹⁴ Origen's two statements asserting that Josephus did not acknowledge the Messiahship of Jesus are as follows: καὶ τοις ἀπὸ τοῦ [Ἰωσήφ] τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς χριστῷ "Josephus did not believe in Jesus as the Messiah" (*Contra Celsum* I, 47) and Ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν οὐ κἀδεῖσθαι εἶναι χριστὸν "he did not receive our Jesus as the Messiah" (*Comm. on Matthew* X, 17, ed. Migne XIII, col. 877).

¹⁵ S. J. Case, *Historicity of Jesus*, Chicago, 1915, p. 252.

¹⁶ Solomon Zeitlin's (see *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 1928, v. 18, p. 237) charge that Eusebius is responsible for the interpolation is not new. It was expressed by Heinichen (*Comm. in Eusebii Pamph. Hist. Eccl.*, Leipzig, 1870, v. 3, p. 625 and 648) and earlier by Tannéguy Lefèvre (see his *Diatribes, Flavii Josephi testimonium de Christo suppositum esse*, Saumur, 1655, reprinted by H. K. A. Eichstaedt in *Jenaer Programm* of 1814), also Goethals, "Le Pseudo-Josèphe" (*Antiquités* XVIII, § 63-84), reviewed by Holtzmann, in *D.L.Z.*, 1916, col. 32-33 and Windisch, in *T.L.Z.*, 1917, no. 5. See Eisler, *Die messianische Unabhängigkeitsbewegung*, &c., Heidelberg, 1928, p. 134 f. Prof. Arthur Cushman McGiffert (in his edition of the *Church History of Eusebius*, New York, 1890, p. 98) is unquestionably right in maintaining that there is no reason

It has been supposed, that some Christian transcriber, out of a pious regard for the interests of Christianity, and in order to afford an argument against the unbelieving Jew, inserted the whole passage; or, that at least, if Josephus did make any mention of Jesus as the Christ, much of the language, as it now stands, has been thus interpolated. It is very difficult to overcome the solid negative inference from the fact that Origen in his reply to Celsus never once quoted from the passage, which as Jewish testimony, certainly would have been of so much value to him. No inference is critically possible except that Origen had never seen or heard of the passage, which must have been inserted in the writings of Josephus after his time. The fact that Origen repeatedly quotes from Josephus the references to James is sufficient proof that he knew nothing of the lines contained in the Christ passage. The tendency to fabricate documents whereby Christianity be made known in non-Christian circles appears at an early period. One need only recall the supposed correspondence between Jesus and King Abgar of Edessa (*ca.* 209), and the "Acts of Pilate."¹⁷

The passage as it stands now in the extant writings of Josephus is obviously of a definitely dogmatic import presenting Jesus as he is known through Christian tradition.¹⁸ If it is an interpolation, it is certainly a clumsy one, and for that reason so comparatively harmless that one is inclined to think that its insertion is probably due to the desire to fill out the gap which the interpolator thought he discovered in the history of Pilate. Such interpolations were numerous in ancient times, even in Greek and Roman writers who have nothing whatever to do with Christianity. Originally written on the margin, they were inserted in the text by a later transcriber. But the keen eyes of critics have generally detected the foreign material, for the reason that it usually does not fit in with the context.

to suppose such a assumption to be true. "For it is contrary to Eusebius' general reputation for honesty, and the manner in which he introduces the quotation ... certainly bears every mark of innocence; and he would scarcely have dared to insert so important an account in his *History* had it not existed in at least some Mss. of Josephus."

¹⁷ Cf. P. Corsen in *Z.N.W.*, 1914, v. 15, p. 129.

¹⁸ It is rather a distinctly biased note aiming to glorify Christianity, such as a Christian might write on the margin, or a scribe insert into the text. This is all the more probable since it is not so much to Jews—who after all looked upon Josephus with suspicion after his part in their war with the Romans—as to Christians that the world is indebted for the preservation of his works.

II

John the Baptist (Antiquities XVIII, 5, 2)

As to the account of John the Baptist found in Josephus it is interesting to notice that it is very brief. It tells of how an army sent by Herod Antipas against Aretas, King of Arabia Petraea, utterly failed in its attack, the army being destroyed through the treachery of some fugitives. He says that:

"Some of the Jews, however, regarded the destruction of Herod's army as the work of God, who thus exacted very just retribution for John, surnamed the Baptist, Herod's victim. John was a good man who bade the Jews first cultivate virtue by justice towards each other and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism...

"Now when all men listened to his words with the greatest delight and flocked to him, Herod feared that the powerful influence which he exercised over men's minds—for they seemed ready for any action which he advised—might lead to some form of revolt. He therefore decided to put him to death before any revolution arose through him. To forestall events appeared far better policy than a belated repentance when plunged in the turmoil of an insurrection. And so, through Herod's suspicions, John was sent as a prisoner to Machaerus, the fortress already mentioned, and there put to death..."

This account of John the Baptist is referred to by Origen¹⁹ and is found in all manuscripts of Josephus. It is not only in harmony with that of the Gospels, but it also serves as a supplement to their reports. Indeed, efforts have even been made to build up out of this report and that which follows, a new chronology of the life of Jesus of Nazareth differing from the one in the Gospel of Luke (ch. III). These efforts have not met with much success.²⁰ It is, however, almost universally admitted to be genuine, since there is no good reason to doubt that it is, for such a dispassionate and strictly impartial account of John the Baptist could hardly have been written by a Christian interpolator. To be sure, this report of Josephus differs from the Evangelists as to the reason for the imprisonment of John

¹⁹ *Contra Celsum* I, 47.

²⁰ See Clemens in *Biblical World*, 1905, p. 368, and cf. Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, pp. 182-191, note 2.

the Baptist. But according to Dr. Arthur Cushman McGiffert²¹ the account of the latter bears throughout the stamp of more direct and accurate knowledge than that of Josephus. Ewald therefore correctly remarks that "when Josephus gives as the cause of John's execution only the Tetrarch's general fear of popular outbreaks, one can see that he no longer had perfect recollection of the matter. The account of Mark is far more exact and instructive."

III

James, the Brother of Jesus (Antiquities XX, 9, 1)

That Josephus did mention Jesus of Nazareth who was "called Christ" is almost generally accepted. But in describing Jesus as the one "called Christ," he had not in mind a Messianic claimant of the past, whose career has any important relation to the religion, politics, and life of the Jews. This reference to Jesus in the writings of Josephus is found in connection with the story of the Sadducean High Priest Ananus, who, after the death of Porcius Festus, set up a tribunal of the Sanhedrin

"and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ²² whose name was James, and some others. And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned."

This is the only reference to Jesus which Origen could discover in the writings of Josephus, but which in itself does not seem intelligible. Some²³ suppose that Josephus must have spoken earlier of Jesus as Christ and thus with the help of this, they endeavor to authenticate the previous reference to Jesus (i.e. in *Antiquities* XVIII, 3, 3). On the other hand, there are those who doubt the genuineness even of this passage,²⁴ because Origen, who three times, and in each instance with some variation, mentions Josephus' account

²¹ In his edition of the *Church History of Eusebius* in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Second Series, 1890, v. 1, p. 98, note 9.

²² Τοῦ λεγομένου χριστοῦ. Here χριστός is thought of as being a more or less technical term for the founder of Christianity. Josephus is careful not to assert that Jesus is the Christ, but that he is called Christ. Cf., however, the same phrase in Matthew I, 16.

²³ See F. C. Burkitt, "Josephus and Christ," in *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Leiden, 1913, v. 47, pp. 135-144, and cf. W. E. Barnes, "The Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ," in *Contemporary Review*, London, 1914, v. 105, pp. 57-68; reprinted separately by S. P. C. K., London, 1920.

²⁴ R. S. M. Mead, in *Theosophical Review*, 1902, v. 30, p. 498.

of the death of James, is supposed to have read it differently. Origen declares twice²⁵ that Josephus describes the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple as a divine retribution for the murder of James. He quotes Josephus as saying that the Jews suffered untold miseries "by way of revenge for James the Just who was the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ."²⁶ This is a highly improbable opinion to father upon Josephus, and since no trace of it is found in the extant writings of Josephus, it is thought not unlikely that the phrase "Jesus, who was called Christ" (*Antiquities* XX, 9, 1) was taken from Origen and by later Scribes incorporated into the text of Josephus. In fact Emil Schürer²⁷ is of the opinion that the text of Josephus used by Origen had already undergone Christian revision and is therefore in doubt as to whether²⁸ the passage as it stands now should be retained.

It seems, however, that the reading was not peculiar to Origen; it is also attested by Jerome.²⁹ Moreover, it is not easy to discover a motive which would prompt the Christians to connect the fall of Jerusalem with the death of James, when they seem to have been uniformly of the opinion that it was intended as a punishment upon the Jews for their rejection of the Messiahship of Jesus. Christian interests would have been served better by the removal of this statement from the writings of Josephus. Nor is it intrinsically improbable that many Jews entertained a good opinion of James, in spite of his adherence to the teachings of Christianity. Even in the New Testament, James is reputed for his loyalty to the Law. He was the acknowledged head of the Jewish-Christian party in the church of Jerusalem and a zealot for the strict observance of the Jewish law (cf. Gal. I, 18—2, 10). It is also known that the Jews were much displeased with Ananus, the Sadducean, high priest, and petitioned Albinus to restrain him in his rash conduct.³⁰ Evidently

²⁵ *Contra Celsum* I, 47; II, 13.

²⁶ As cited in Origen's *Comm. on Matthew* X, 17, Josephus said: "The people thought they suffered these things for the sake of James." In *Contra Celsum* I, 47 and II, 13 this opinion is credited to Josephus himself, and is repeated by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* II, 23.

²⁷ See his *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, &c., Leipzig, 1901, v. 1, 4th ed., p. 548 and 581.

²⁸ The authenticity of the passage has been established by Norden (in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1913, v. 31, p. 649, note 1) against Schürer's view.

²⁹ *De vir. illustr.* 13.

³⁰ It is true that Hegesippus (according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* II, 23) blames the "Jews and Scribes and Pharisees" for James' death, but Hegesippus is much less likely to have been well informed on the subject than was Josephus.

the charge of law breaking which Ananus brought against James, was not an expression of popular Jewish opinion. To many Jews, Ananus himself was the real law breaker.³¹ A favorable reference to James, like the similar reference to John the Baptist (*Antiquities* XVIII, 5, 2), may well have been original with Josephus. Was it not natural to identify James more closely by indicating his relationship to Jesus, who in turn is distinguished from various other persons of the same name by reminding Roman readers that they commonly called this person "Christ"?³² It seems, therefore, quite possible that Josephus did mention in this incidental way "Jesus, who was 'Christ called.'" This evidently constitutes the only direct reference to Jesus of Nazareth found in the extant writings of Josephus.

In view of the fact that Josephus mentions also John the Baptist and James, the brother of Jesus³³ it would be rather suspicious if Jesus had been passed by him in utter silence. Such an act on the part of Josephus is entirely unthinkable. He certainly had his prejudice, but not to such an extent as to ignore completely the life and work of so striking a personality as Jesus must have been. In his writings, Josephus endeavored to tell the exact as to Jewish affairs without embellishment or evasion. That he had such a purpose and fully intended to live up to it can not be doubted, if his own statements have any weight, since he definitely says: "As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this without adding anything to what is therein contained, or taking away anything therefrom."³⁴

That the Jewish records must have contained some reference to Jesus can not reasonably be questioned. The trial and condemnation by the Sanhedrin necessitated such an outcome. The execution of Jesus by Pontius Pilate and the persistent reports that he had risen from the dead must have left an impression on the minds of the people. They had to be faced and explained. Josephus must have been conversant with the facts since they must have been matters of common

³¹ Cf. Josephus' *Antiquities* XX, 9, 1.

³² Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* XV, 44; Suetonius, *Claudius* 25; Plinius the Younger, *Epistolae* X, 96-97.

³³ Cf. his *Antiquities* XVIII, 5, 2 and XX, 9, 1.

³⁴ *Antiquities*, Preface III, 17.

remark in his boyhood, if not later. No intelligent person could have lived then in Jerusalem or in Galilee and remained in ignorance of these things, and Josephus had lived in both places.

It manifestly was the object of Josephus to comprise in his narrative all that was memorable in the history of his people. Is it then possible or probable that he should not have said a word about Jesus of Nazareth or about the origin of the early Christians, who at that time were increasing in number? The life work of Jesus having left an impression on his contemporaries,³⁵ it is not unlikely that Flavius Josephus, Jew as he was, did take an interest in Jesus and that he even went so far as to present the matter to his readers undoubtedly from a point of view entirely his own—a Jewish point of view. Dr. Rudolf Steck³⁶ has advanced the interesting hypothesis that Josephus may have inserted, in the place of the passage declared to be spurious, a section describing Jesus in terms of the so-called "Ben Pandera" story,³⁷ making him illegitimate and an impostor. This obviously not being acceptable to the Christians of a later period, and the hellenistic literature of the Jews having fallen almost exclusively in their hands, it is not unlikely that the original references to Jesus in the writings of Josephus were either replaced by others, or subjected to considerable revision, in order to make them conform closer to the Christian traditions and beliefs of the day. The fact that Josephus wrote his works in Greek prevented them from finding many readers among the Jews whose national literature was generally in Hebrew or Aramaic. On the other hand, because they were originally written in Greek, the works of Josephus became very popular among the early Christians. In fact, the writings of Josephus, because of their contents obtained a position in Christianity almost as important as the canonical books of

³⁵ See Matthew 28, 11–15.

³⁶ In *Protest. Monatshefte*, 1912, 1–2, quoted by William Benjamin Smith in his *Ecce Deus*, London, 1912, p. 340.

³⁷ See *Babylonian Talmud*, *Shab.* 104^b; *Sanhed.* 67^a. Cf. H. P. Chajes, "Ben Stada" in Horodezki's *Hagoren*, Berdichev, 1903, v. 4, pp. 33–37; R. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, London, 1903, p. 345 f.; Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, New York, 1925, pp. 20 ff., and Samuel Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu &c.*, Berlin, 1902. The earliest authenticated passage ascribing illegitimate birth to Jesus is that in *Yebamot* IV, 3. The Jews took him to be legitimate and born in an entirely natural manner. A contrary statement as to their attitude is expressed for the first time in the "Acts of Pilate" ("Gospel of Nicodemus" ed. Thilo, in *Codex Apoc. Novi Testamenti* I, 526, Leipzig, 1832; cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum* I, 28). Celsus makes the same statement in another passage (*l. c.* I, 32).

the Bible. From the first, it is most likely that the readers of Josephus consisted chiefly of proselytes to Christianity, who required an account of the historical basis of the new religion, and found the *Antiquities* far more intelligible than the *Septuaginta*.³⁸

The genuine words of Josephus which of course were hostile to the Christian teaching as to Jesus and his Messianic claims, have been overworked, it is true, yet leave sufficient evidence that an authentic passage on Jesus and his story must have existed in this context; for Josephus later (XX, 29, 1) mentions "James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ," thus presupposing that his readers already know of this alleged Christ. He could not have done so had he not given the necessary information in a previous passage. But that passage as it stands now, instead of offering some sort of an estimate of Jesus of Nazareth as a teacher and leader, is rendered worthless because all evidence leads to the conclusion either that it was not written by Josephus or that it has been mutilated beyond recognition by copyists and interpolators.³⁹ In its present form it apparently found its place into the text of Josephus at some period between the time of Origen about 280, and that of Eusebius about 324. It is evidently the work of well-intentioned Christian hands.

IV

The Slavonic Josephus

A great stir has been made by the discovery in recent years of a number of passages in the Slavonic⁴⁰ text of Josephus which are missing in the extant Greek text. A new problem has thus arisen affecting the character of the latter, especially as these passages refer to incidents in the lives and works of John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth.

The statement made by Dr. Vacher Burch⁴¹ that "a pile of manuscripts was found written in the ancient Church language of the Slavs which contain a translation of the writings of Josephus"

³⁸ See S. A. Naber, in *Mnemosyne*, Leipzig, 1885, v. 13, p. 279.

³⁹ See F. C. Grant, in *Studies in Early Christianity*, edited by S. J. Case, New York, 1928, p. 242.

⁴⁰ It is usually so designated, though some scholars speak of it as having been written in the Old Russian language. See Zeitlin, *ibid.*, p. 246.

⁴¹ In *Diocese of Liverpool Review*, April 1926, v. 1, no. 1, p. 27. Cf. *London Times*, April 12, 1926 ff., and *New York Times*, April 11 and 13, 1926.

is, to say the least, rather misleading. There are a number of manuscripts of the so-called Slavonic translation of Josephus in several Russian public libraries (Moscow, Kazan and Leningrad) and they have been known to Russian scholars for generations.⁴² The newly acclaimed passages of the Russian Josephus pertaining to John the Baptist and to Jesus of Nazareth have been frequently commented upon. In 1866, Andrey Popov⁴³ published for the first time excerpts from a Russian version of writings attributed to Flavius Josephus. Other specimens of this text were given in 1879 by Izmail Iv. Sreznevski.⁴⁴ It was only during the early years of the present century that Alexander John Berendts (1863–1912) late Professor of Theology in the University of Dorpat, noticed that the Russian text of the *Jewish War* by Josephus presented striking variations from the extant Greek text from which practically all other current versions had been made. He accordingly prepared a German translation of all of the eight passages contained in the Slavonic recension of Josephus' *Jewish War*, in which is reported much that differs from what is recorded in the Gospels, about John the Baptist, and about Jesus of Nazareth, and which is not found in Josephus' Greek writings. In 1906, Berendts published these passages⁴⁵ with a full discussion as to their authenticity. He maintained then that the passages as they appear in the Slavonic text are to be accepted as the genuine work of Josephus, derived not from the extant Greek, but, perhaps indirectly, from the Hebrew or Aramaic original text of the *Jewish War*, which Josephus is supposed to have written for the use of those people in the Parthian empire, who were expected by the Jews to take an active part in their insurrection (I, 6).

Starting with Josephus' own statement that he had first written his account of the War in his native tongue, and dedicated it to the "upper barbarians," i. e. the Parthians, Babylonians, the remotest

⁴² It was thought that these were written in Slavonic, the sacred southern language of the Slavonic churches, but recently it was shown that they are really written in an archaic but genuinely (northern) Russian vernacular.

⁴³ See his "Обзор Хронографовъ, Русской Редакцій (Выпуск первый)," Moscow, 1866, p. 130.

⁴⁴ In his "Свѣдѣнія и Замѣтки о Малоизвѣстныхъ и Незвѣстныхъ Памятникахъ," forming v. 20, no. 4 of "Сборникъ отдѣленія Русскаго Языка," &c., pp. 140–144.

⁴⁵ Issued under the title *Die Zeugnisse vom Christentum im slavischen "de bello Judaico" des Josephus*, Leipzig, 1906 (Texte und Untersuchungen, herausgegeben von O. von Gebhardt und A. Harnack, Neue Folge, v. 14, 4).

Arabians and the Jews beyond the Euphrates and the Adiabene (cf. *Jewish War*, 6), Berendts contended that the Greek rendering which Josephus later made and which has become the standard text was really a revision of the earlier work. It is argued that the alleged first draft prepared for the "upper barbarians," had also been translated into Greek, and became the particular source of the present Slavonic rendering. In this, Josephus is supposed to have spoken of Jesus several times, but in preparing a version for Roman readers he expunged these passages. His Greek text was written in order to win the favor of the ruling Roman dynasty and of the whole Hellenistic world for those surviving Jews, who had—from the first, as he pretended—discouraged the Messianic hopes of their brethren. Eisler⁴⁶ argues that if the supposed Aramaic work of Josephus was in possession of the Jews in Babylon, Persia, East Arabia and Adiabene, it could easily have come into the hands of Jews in Armenia and Southern Russia as well in those of the Turkish Chazars, settled there, sometime between 860 and 900 C.E., who had undergone a wholesale conversion to Judaism. They carried an extensive trade between Persia and Russian, Bulgaria and Byzantium. When they were subjugated by the Russians (about 969) and forcibly converted to Greek-Orthodox Christianity, their manuscripts are supposed to have fallen into the hands of the Russians and subsequently been translated into Old Slavonic.

The belief that the Slavonic version is based upon the supposed original Aramaic text of Josephus is assumed to be strengthened by the claim made for it, that it not only contains the new material about Jesus and the early Christians, but diverges from the Greek text, so that it can not possibly be regarded entirely as a variant or an abbreviation of the latter. If this theory were established, Josephus would be a very substantial witness for the historicity of Jesus. In the Slavonic version the story of Jesus' life is told in outline, his superhuman nature is clearly acknowledged, his marvellous deeds and wonderful teachings are mentioned, and such items as the betrayal, the crucifixion, the watch at the tomb and the resurrection are attested. One naturally asks whether this may not be the work of a Christian hand, and whether the data are not derived from the Gospels. Berendts answers both questions negatively. He

⁴⁶ R. Eisler, "The newly rediscovered witness of Josephus to Jesus," in *The Quest*, London, 1925, v. 17, pp. 1-15.

finds the Slavonic material to be entirely different from the Christian interpolation in the accepted text of *Antiquities* XVIII, 3, 3. The former does not speak of the Messiahship of Jesus, nor refer to his fulfilment of prophecy. The arguments from interruption of the context, foreign style, and Origen's assertion that Josephus did not acknowledge Jesus' Messiahship, urged against the passage in the *Antiquities*, are thought to have no force here. Furthermore it is argued that Josephus did not belong to that faction of Judaism which would be most hostile to Christianity, so his appreciation of Jesus as a miracle worker cannot, on merely *a priori* grounds, be denied. It is supposed that in the hypothetical Aramaic text of the *Jewish War* by Josephus there may have been references to John the Baptist and to Jesus of Nazareth and the movement connected with their activities. But why should Joseyhus have eliminated them from the Greek, when his *Antiquities* contain an indubitable passage concerning John the Baptist and even a probable reference to Jesus of Nazareth? To furnish a satisfactory answer to his dilemma is indeed rather difficult. Those who argue in favor of Josephus' authorship of the Slavonic narratives maintain that Josephus feared to write about Jesus in his Greek edition of the *Jewish War* lest the Romans suspect him of admiration for Jesus as the Messiah (Christ). On the other hand, in his supposed Aramaic edition of this work, intended for the Jews in Babylon, he freely expressed himself about Jesus and the miraculous works he wrought. Now, if the Slavonic Josephus represents a translation from the Greek and not from the Aramaic, as is now claimed by Eisler,⁴⁷ the problem assumes an entirely different aspect. Unless unmistakable evidence can be produced that the Slavonic recension rests on a Greek text antedating all extant manuscripts it is fairly reasonable to assume that the passages in question are not improbably later interpolations. The interpolator, thinking that Josephus had fallen short of historical impartiality by neglecting to mention two such remarkable personages as John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth and the movement associated with their names, desired to amend the text of the historian in this respect. It was a day when copyright had not yet

⁴⁷ R. Eisler ("The present position of the Slavic Josephus question," in *The Quest*, London, 1928, v. 20, pp. 10 f.) believes that the Slavonic version reproduces a Greek translation of an original Semitic rough-draft, which was made from it in the Roman scriptorium of Josephus, and not the Aramaic edition of his book.

been dreamt of. Frey's⁴⁸ hypothesis that the Slavonic fragments represent Jewish interpolations in the text of Josephus is quite untenable, if the hypothetical Christian portions are not eliminated from the rest of the chapters. R. Seeberg⁴⁹ maintains that interpolations must be admitted in some places, while Eisler,⁵⁰ who is determined to establish at all costs Josephus' authorship of the Slavonic narratives about John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth, finding their text, well intermixed with Christian interpolations, endeavors most ingeniously to strip the passages of the puerile additions with which he claims Christian scribes wrenched them out of their real historic value. He finds clever interpolations among the genuine sentences which have an obvious Christian tendency and therefore endeavors to disentangle the text, freeing it from the Christian additions and restoring it to its original form, as it is assumed to have been before it was touched up by Christian scribes. How the performance of such a critical operation, no matter how successful, will help to prove that it really comes from the pen of Josephus is not quite clear. The effort indicates, rather, an obstinate desire to prove a pet theory most difficult to substantiate.

Robert Eisler's opinion that the Slavonic Josephus is a direct translation from an original Aramaic *via* a primitive Greek version has been the subject of considerable publicity in recent years. Ever since the Slavonic passages were brought to the attention of Western scholars, much has been said about the supposed Aramaic account of the *Jewish War* which Josephus says he previously sent to his countrymen in the interior of Syria and Babylonia. If Josephus wrote anything of the kind in what he calls his native language, it is difficult to imagine that he wrote in Aramaic rather than Hebrew, and all the more because there was in his time, so far as one can judge, no standard Aramaic literary language. In the region of Nisibis or in Adiabene, Palestinian Aramaic⁵¹ would not have been understood without great difficulty, while Hebrew would have been easily understood everywhere by the educated classes. If Josephus wrote about the *Jewish War* to these "up-country barbarians," his main reason for doing so, would have been, not to deter his

⁴⁸ See his *Der Slavische Josephus*, 1908.

⁴⁹ See his *Von Christus und dem Christentum*, 1908.

⁵⁰ See note 46.

⁵¹ When Thackeray explains τῇ πατρίᾳ to mean Aramaic (see his edition of the *Jewish War*, p. 4), he evidently understands only that Aramaic (Palestinian) which was spoken in the region of Nisibis or in Adiabene.

countrymen and other people from defying the power of Rome, but to clear his own skirts of the reputation which would have circulated in those parts, that he had betrayed the national cause in Galilee and made terms with Vespasian and Titus, much to his own advantage. In other words, something similar to what is extant in his autobiography.⁵² Prof. George F. Moore, of Harvard University,⁵³ justly asserts that it is hard to understand why it should be taken for granted that Josephus would write in Aramaic to the Jews in the East. Josephus does not say so; what he says is that he wrote *τη πατρί* which Prof. Moore interprets to mean Hebrew, "the language of the learned."⁵⁴ Assuming that Josephus is to be trusted in his claim that before he composed it into Greek, he first wrote the *Jewish War* in his native tongue, whether Hebrew or Aramaic, how has it come about that nothing is known of it in the whole national literature of the Jews? If Josephus really wrote such a work in Hebrew or in Aramaic, and that work was still in existence in the tenth century, is it likely that the great Jewish teachers of Babylonia would have been ignorant of it, and that no trace of it would be found in the Talmud and in the literature of the Geonim?⁵⁵

Those who maintain that Josephus was the actual author of these Slavonic passages argue that the hatred of the Jews against the "traitor" Josephus would account for the fact that his Aramaic work is never quoted in Hebrew literature and that manuscripts of it survived only in an environment of Jewish proselytes (Chazars⁵⁶) who could not feel so intensely on a point of national honor.⁵⁷ The Chazars are supposed to have later translated the original Aramaic

⁵² The *Jewish War* as extant in Greek, beginning as it does with a Book and a half "conveyed" from Nicholas of Damascus is certainly not a translation of an early Hebrew (or "Aramaic") narrative. Such an assumption is unimaginable.

⁵³ In a letter dated March 19, 1928, and addressed to Dr. George Alexander Kohut, who was kind enough to place it, together with other correspondence on the subject, at the disposal of the present writer.

⁵⁴ Thackeray puts "Aramaic" in the footnotes, as if that was a matter of course.

⁵⁵ The Geonim ("excellencies") were supreme authorities in Judaism, who flourished from the latter part of the sixth century to the first half of the eleventh. See my "Mediaeval Hebrew Literature," in *Columbia University Course in Literature*, New York, 1928, v. 1, p. 152.

⁵⁶ On the Chazars, see Herman Rosenthal, in *J.E.*, New York, 1903, v. 4, pp. 1-7, and S. Schechter, in *J.Q.R.*, New Series, 1912-1913, v. 3, pp. 181-219.

⁵⁷ Zeitlin (*ibid.*, p. 246) correctly points out that "Josephus is considered a traitor only by some modern scholars, and not by the Rabbis of the Middle Ages or of the Talmudic period."

into Old Slavonic, and it is claimed that it is this translation, retouched by Christian hands, which is now represented by the manuscripts of the so-called Slavonic Josephus obtainable in several Russian libraries.⁵⁸ Certainly a novel theory. Considering the fact that Slavonic translations from Hebrew writings are unknown,⁵⁹ such a theory presents obvious difficulties. No trace is to be found of Chazar authors; neither their names nor their works are known to posterity. They are just as unknown as manuscripts of the same provenance. It is even doubtful whether the Chazars knew the Hebrew script, although some Arabic writers assumed that they knew it.⁶⁰

A very strong argument is advanced by Prof. Solomon Zeitlin against the supposition that the Slavonic text is a translation from the Aramaic which Josephus is claimed to have written for the Babylonian Jews. He argues with a certain measure of truth that had Josephus written his *Jewish War* in Aramaic he would have referred to the Jewish months by their Hebrew names. "Instead, we are told that Passover fell on the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus and the destruction of the Temple took place on the tenth of the month Louis. The names of these months are Syro-Macedonian, and were used in the first century throughout Asia Minor. They were never current in Babylon and their use everywhere died out shortly, the Roman calendar taking their place."⁶¹

Ever since 1906, when Berendts issued his German translation of the so-called Slavonic fragments of Josephus, the consensus of learned opinion has been entirely unfavorable to their authenticity. Berendts' attempt to declare Josephus as their actual author was rejected in no unmistakable manner by so eminent an authority as Emil Schürer⁶² who maintained that under no circumstances could they be attributed to the Jewish historian of the first century. He dismissed them as transparent Christian forgeries, and that too, of

⁵⁸ See G. R. S. Mead, in *The Quest*, London, 1924, v. 15, pp. 457-479; R. Eisler, *ibid.*; and V. Burch, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ The Slavonic recension of the Book of Enoch is certainly based upon the Greek.

⁶⁰ See G. Flügel, in *Z.D.M.G.*, Leipzig, 1859, v. 13, p. 566, and Steinschneider's *Hebräische Bibliographie*, Berlin, 1859, v. 2, p. 109. Cf. also H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1895, v. 5, p. 369.

⁶¹ Zeitlin, *ibid.*, p. 245.

⁶² In *T.L.Z.*, 1906, v. 31, col. 265-266.

a late date and hardly of any historic value whatever. Eisler⁶³ who reopened the question claims that Berendts' theory would have met with a better fate had he realized that the text with which he was dealing "is falsified by heavy Christian interpolations and retouches." But all the clever, even ingenious, methods applied to the study of the text can not lead directly to Josephus as author unless Eisler's latest theory—that the passages are the remnants of a lost work of Josephus on the "Capture of Jerusalem"—be substantiated. In this matter Eisler appears to discard one theory as quickly as he is able to invent another. It seems, however, that all the discussion which followed the sensational claims as to the Slavonic Josephus have not yet adduced a shadow of anything which can be called a proof. The hope of extracting anything of real historic value out of these puzzling Slavonic texts depends after all on establishing the reasonableness of the hypothesis that they are based on echoes of popular traditions—whether or not they were known to Josephus does not matter for the moment—still floating about in the Jewish environment of Christianity in, say, the last third of the first century. At present, all that can be said of them is that nowhere in the writings of Josephus, as hitherto known, is there anything to be found which in any way corresponds to them, and if they are to be linked with the name of Josephus they must then be treated as wholesale "interpolations," or "additions" to his writings. Accordingly Schürer⁶⁴ declared them to represent an original piece of Christian interpolation made by one who used the Gospels as his only source of information. Holtzmann⁶⁵ relegates them to a series of "wildwuchernder" apocryphal fiction, such as are to be met with in the so-called "Acta Pilati" and the "Gospel of Petrus." Similarly, H. Jordan⁶⁶ finds that the Slavonic fragments have their origin in Christian traditions of the second and third centuries and that they have therefore no greater value than the familiar Apocryphal Gospels. There are those who⁶⁷ see in them a

⁶³ "He [Berendts] was so deficient in critical insight and historic method, that he failed to distinguish the most obvious Christian interpolations in what he translated." Eisler, in *The Quest*, 1928, v. 20, p. 3. Cf. also his article in *The Quest*, 1925, v. 17.

⁶⁴ See note 62.

⁶⁵ *D.L.Z.*, 1907, v. 28, col. 588.

⁶⁶ *T.L.B.*, 1907, col. 511.

⁶⁷ See A. Marmorstein, "Some remarks on the Slavonic Josephus," in *The Quest*, London, 1926, v. 17, pp. 145-157, and Hugh Schonfield, "Some jottings on the Slavonic Josephus," in *The Quest*, London, 1927, v. 18, pp. 133-139.

visible development of the passage in *Antiquities* XVIII, 3, 3, with the interesting difference that according to the author of the Slavonic text the Scribes are supposed to have offered Pilate a bribe of "thirty talents" to slay Jesus,⁶⁸ who, is described mainly in the manner of the *Antiquities* passage,⁶⁹ with additions, some of which are plainly suggested by the Gospels. Identities between the two are certainly patent. The introductory sentences describing Jesus as a man and yet as a superhuman miracle worker are either the same or are close paraphrases of the same statement. The two narratives so far as they cover the same incidents, practically parallel each other.⁷⁰

Now, the argument for the dependence of the Slavonic Josephus upon the Gospels is met by noting that its contents and point of view do not correspond closely with the Gospel narratives. They are at times so different that they can hardly be accounted for on the basis of the Gospels alone. Nor do any apocryphal writings seem to furnish all the data contained therein. Furthermore it is contended⁷¹ that no Christian who possessed the Gospels would be interested in inventing the accounts which are obtainable in the Slavonic version. They must come from a Jew, and even he could hardly have written, as he did, later than the first century. Consequently Berendts and Eisler concluded that the author was no one else than Josephus. But the arguments are hardly forceful enough to justify the conclusion. The language of the Slavonic Josephus "is too appreciative of Jesus' uniqueness and superhuman character to have come from any one who was not a Christian. While Jesus is said to have been human in nature and form, his appearing was more than human and his works were divine, so that he could neither be called a man nor an angel. He is the unique wonder-worker sent forth from God. This surely is Christian language, and not altogether unlike some ideas in the Fourth Gospel."⁷² Failure to call Jesus the Messiah seems to be due merely to the feeling that he is too unique even among Messiahs to be

⁶⁸ Is not this an echo of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas Iscariot? See Matthew 26, 14-16 and Mark 14, 10 f.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Antiquities* XVIII, 3, 3.

⁷⁰ C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, "New testimony concerning Jesus," in *The Living Age*, Boston, 1926, Series 8, v. 41, pp. 278-283.

⁷¹ See notes 45 and 74.

⁷² S. J. Case, *Historicity of Jesus*, Chicago, 1915, p. 259. "... diese Erzählungen entstanden offenbar nicht in jüdischen, sondern in christlichen Kreisen" (G. Hoennicke, in *D.L.Z.*, 1907, v. 17, col. 1037).

measured adequately by the ordinary messianic concept. Again, wide variations from the Gospel narrative, even contradictions of these narratives, can not establish priority for the variant version. The Apocryphal Gospels show clearly that Christian writers familiar with Gospel traditions could depart from them rather widely. In the light of this how can it still be claimed that no Christian could have written the Slavonic narrative and that "it would be a *greater* impossibility for this to have been written by a Christian hand after the first two centuries."⁷³ If the Slavonic passages can not have been written by a Christian, but can have been the work of a Jew, they can obviously have come from the hands of a Jewish forger, and a Jewish forgery might conceivably find its way even into a Christian document.

It did not take very long for Berendts to realize that all available evidence was against the assumption that Josephus was the author of the Slavonic fragments, the German translation of which he had published in 1906. Accepting the verdict of his critics he promptly abandoned this theory, but still maintained that the author of the Slavonic narratives must have been a Jew, "Der Urheber dieses Textes läßt sich nur als Jude denken."⁷⁴ If a Jew, and, at that, one of an early date must be credited with their authorship, why should he be identified with Josephus? Behind such an effort there evidently lies the desire to establish the authenticity of the much disputed passage in *Antiquities* XVIII, 3, 3. Otherwise the name of some other Jew might have been drawn upon. For the benefit of those who would judaize the Slavonic fragments the present writer ventures to suggest the name of another Jewish historian: Justus of Tiberias, the political and literary opponent of Josephus, who was the leader of one of the factions of Tiberias during the troublous times before the outbreak of the war, while Josephus was governor of Galilee.⁷⁵ Why can not he be claimed to have been the author of the Slavonic fragments? Like Josephus, his contemporary, Justus, too, is known to have written a history of the Jewish War in which he attacked Josephus very severely. Justus' work which is no longer extant was still read by Photius in the ninth century and is described by him

⁷³ See note 41, and cf. Zeitlin, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ See his "Analecta, &c.," in *Z.N.W.*, 1908, v. 9, p. 70.

⁷⁵ He is mentioned frequently in Josephus' *Life*, and one is thus enabled to gather a tolerably complete idea of him, though of course the account is that of an enemy.

in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 33), under the title βασιλεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς στέμμασι.⁷⁶

Undoubtedly the Slavonic text of Josephus' *Jewish War* possesses merits entirely its own. But a proper appreciation of the fragments can not be undertaken at the present time due to the fact that they still await publication. Prof. Vladimir Istrin who for some years has been engaged in the preparation of a scholarly edition of the whole Slavonic Josephus, has given assurance that the text differs throughout from the generally known Greek text of the works of Josephus. The Slavonic *Jewish War* is an altogether different work on a subject so familiar through the writings of Josephus.⁷⁷ Pending the publication of an edition of the text critically edited, it is obviously premature to conjecture as to its historical or literary value.⁷⁸

As the matter now stands the Slavonic passages attributed to Josephus present an extremely odd and certainly very complicated problem, the solution of which is beset with considerable difficulties. Whatever be the origin of those passages, their parentage is obscure and doubtful. No traces of these passages are to be found in Greek, Latin, Syriac. It is only a Slavonic version that contains them. How could this be, if the passages were really ancient and authentic? If it were not for the fact that they possess the characteristic elements which tend to present them as witnesses to certain events connected with the rise of Christianity little attention would have been paid to them. They would have been considered as undeserving of any serious discussion. Only as striking curiosities can they be regarded, perhaps as the greatest example of what are generally known as "Christian forgeries."

⁷⁶ No wonder then that Josephus regarded the work most unfavorably. See his *Life* 9, 12, 17, 35, 37, 54, 65, 70 and 74. In fact the writing by Josephus of his *Life* was occasioned by the attacks upon him contained in Justus' work.

⁷⁷ See Eisler in *The Quest*, 1925, v. 17, p. 10. The information was also conveyed by Prof. V. Istrin in a letter dated June 10, 1926 and addressed to my colleague Dr. A. Yarmolinsky, Chief of the Slavonic Division.

⁷⁸ E. von Dobschütz in his article on Josephus in *Hastings Dict. of the Apostolic Church*, though inclined to accept him as the author of the Slavonic passages, is of the opinion that no definite decision can be had before its full text is published. Similarly S. Zeitlin, in his article "Origine de la divergence entre les Évangiles Synoptiques et l'Évangile non-Synoptique quant à la date de la crucifixion de Jésus," in *R. E. J.*, 1926, v. 82, pp. 208-209. Cf. also his "The Christ Passage in Josephus," in *J. Q. R.*, New Series, 1928, v. 18, pp. 244f.

Such are the "documents" concerning which so much has been said in the last quarter of a century, and which in recent years have been spoken of as representing a remarkable "discovery." The fact is that there was no discovery in the ordinary sense of the word. No new source, not even a new text of a source already known, had come to light. All recent talk of "discovery" in connection with the Slavonic Josephus amounts simply to this: it has occurred to some scholars that the Slavonic text of the *Jewish War* by Josephus may represent a translation, not of the known Greek text, but of a supposed Aramaic original, with regard to the contents of which nothing whatever is known. As to the question of Josephus' testimony to Christianity practically nothing has been brought to light which was not known before. However, before any final conclusion can be arrived at, it is necessary that the whole of the Slavonic text of the *Jewish War* be published and carefully compared with the Greek. Until then all talk of a "great discovery" is premature, and it is not too extreme to describe it as ridiculous.

November 1928.

WHO WAS THE BELOVED DISCIPLE?

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, New York City

THE "Disciple whom Jesus loved" is mentioned as such in the Passion narrative only.

This, in itself, seems to fit in very badly with the traditional interpretation of the Gospel which identifies him with the Apostle John and with the anonymous disciple who accompanied Andrew (Jno. 1, 40) who may indeed have been the Galilean fisherman, John the son of Zebedee.

There is no reason for doubting the statement made by the synoptics that *all* the apostles abandoned their Master on his last day. Such assertions, which are not flattering, are not invented. The only disciple present with Jesus on Calvary is the "Disciple," not an apostle. Why is he unafraid? Why is he unmolested by the soldiers? Not because he is young. Soldiers do not especially respect young men. May it not be because he was a notable person in Jerusalem? Soldiers who were the police of that time would be likely to deal gently with aristocracy. Moreover, he was not one of the twelve, he spoke the local dialect of Jerusalem and not the Galilean variety which easily betrayed the apostles.

If he is the same person as "another disciple" (Jno. 18, 15), note that he enters freely the house of the high priest, while Peter, being a poor man, has to remain in the court. The reason why he would have been present at the Last Supper is that his house was the one in which Christ celebrated the Seder or Passover meal. To that Jerusalem house, the "Disciple" took Mary the mother of Jesus during the crucifixion, and came back after a while (μετὰ τοῦτο) to see the end. In that house, Mary dwelt from that time on (ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας) and she was certainly there on the day of Pentecost (Acts 1, 14).

The "Disciple" was young, probably too young to accompany Jesus in his missionary journeys. He was younger than the apostles and outlived them all. Indeed, several of the apostles died a violent

death, including John, son of Zebedee, whose death by martyrdom had been clearly predicted by Jesus.¹

The hypothesis that the "Disciple" was a young man of wealth, connected with the priestly aristocracy, can be made more plausible on the basis of an incident, which commentators have been, to this day, unable to explain. On the third day after the crucifixion the Disciple and Peter ran to the sepulchre. The Disciple arrived there first, but did not go in, until Peter who arrived shortly after, had found the tomb empty. There is here a clear case of the prohibition to enter a tomb which applies to the *Cohanim* (Lev. 10, 6; 21, 1—5; Nu. 19, 11, 14—16). But the Disciple *could* enter an empty tomb, as we see from the story.

It is not even necessary that the "Disciple" had been then a fully qualified "Cohen" (namely that he be twenty years old). The interdiction to become impure by contact with a dead body applied even to the "buds of priesthood" (פרחי כהונה), namely the sons of Cohanim who had reached the age of puberty,² but were still too young to officiate as could be seen by the appearance of hair on their face.³

We are inclined to believe that the Disciple was only one of these פרחי כהונה, otherwise he would have been occupied on Passover eve slaughtering Pesah-lambs and therefore unable to attend the Last Supper. We may now come to the external evidence. We attach great importance to a statement of Polycrates about John of Ephesus ὃς ἐγενίθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκῶς. The term ἱερεὺς was applied later to the Christian priesthood, but such a connotation would be meaningless here. Christian priests were many, and the fact of becoming one was unimportant. We find here a reference to the Jewish priesthood. John became a priest, a Cohen, in fact. He could become one because he had been "a bud of priesthood." Indeed, Polycrates says more: "he wore the gold blade" (of the High Priest). After the fall of Jerusalem, the High Priesthood ceased to function and to exist. The former methods of appointing high priests were no longer available. Perhaps the Disciple considered that he had a right to it by inheritance. Such a thought was not a

¹ Mk. 10, 39. The evidence for an early death of John the Apostle can be seen in Moffatt, *Int. to the N. T.*, 602—608; McNeile, *Int. to the N. T.*, 271—275.

² *Midd.* 1, 8. Cf. *Sanh.* 96b; *j. Sot.* I, 17a.

³ Cf. Bartinoro on *Midd.* 1, 8.

difficult one to entertain, because the High Priesthood had been awarded with far less rigidity than our own strict conception of hereditary rights would allow. He may have thought that as the "beloved disciple" he had gained special rights. He may have been conscious of the facts that he knew, more than any one else, the true teaching of Jesus. He may have realized the fact that the Christian ministry is a ministry of sacrifice and that its ordination, which has nothing in common with rabbinical setting apart is a sacrificial Semikhah. Whatever may be the explanation, the testimony of Church writers, such as it is, shows that John of Ephesus, while not an apostle, exercised apostolic authority, and appointed bishops.

Epiphanius tells us that James, head of the church in Jerusalem, also wore the "golden blade." If the statement is true, it may simply prove that James, whose father is not known, may have belonged to the tribe of Levi, and that through some reasoning similar to that of John of Ephesus, came to look upon himself as a legitimate successor of the high priest.

Our hypothesis accounts fairly well for the peculiar character of the Fourth Gospel, and for some at least of its differences with the synoptics. That such differences exist is evident. There is no doubt, however, that the author of the Fourth Gospel, having been a witness of only a part of the life of Jesus, relied on sources for his information outside of the Jerusalem episodes. He knew Mark and the source of Luke.

Our hypothesis explains why the author is familiar with the terminology of Greek philosophy. He was a Sadducee and his party was the Hellenizing party in Israel.

It explains his lack of sympathy with John the Baptist. The latter was not an Essene (he ate locusts), but he was strongly influenced by Essene thought and practice. Sadducees could not like the Essenes or their friends, because they objected to sacrificial worship. Note here that while Matthew's early source declares that Sadducees were in the delegation that visited John the Baptist (Mt. 3, 7), John the Evangelist does not say so (Jno. 1, 24).

The Essenes and John held characteristic eschatological views. John the Evangelist has little use for such.

John the Evangelist has a deep knowledge of the symbolism and rationale of the Jewish sacrificial system. He knows what the

"Lamb of God" is. His commentators have made him think non-Jewish thoughts, but they are none of his.

Being city bred, he is somewhat hazy on Palestinian geography, although not inaccurate. Being a Sadducee, he is well aware that the Pharisees looked upon themselves as the real Jews. Therefore he refers to them quite correctly as οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, and perhaps not without a secret satisfaction. Being a Sadducee he is well informed about correct Jewish religion, and we claim that he does not misinterpret it, and therefore does not misinterpret the thought of Jesus his Teacher, whose relation to Judaism is vital. We claim also, and hope to show later, that what has been read into his book as anti-Jewish controversy is not really so. Controversy there is in it, as in any live book, but it is not directed against the Jews, who did not count in Ephesus, but against the besetting dangers to the faith of gentile Christians who lived, so far as their religious thought was concerned, closely in contact with the religious syncretism of Asianic mysteries. The author is constantly reaching over into this religious atmosphere, beyond the immediate Palestinian and Jewish ambience of Jesus.

He refers to it, we believe, under the veil of the story of the miracle of Cana. It is the pagan mysteries which make a man drunk as it were (cf. μεθύσθωσιν, Jno. 2, 10), so that he does not know that he is given only foolish secrets after he has reached the orgiastic frenzy or the enthusiastic state.

It is the mysteries which teach that a man must be born again in this world. Indeed, the gospel tells us about a *supernal* birth, which is a communion with the world of spirits (a "conversation in heaven" as Paul says). Note here that John the Baptist, who, being partly an Essene, had separated himself from Judaism, seems to have thought that people were bad and needed to do away with the past. John the Evangelist tells us of an outpouring of life from above (ἄνωθεν), which surrounds those baptized in the spirit with ineffable joy (ταῖς ἐπουράνιαις, Jno. 3, 12). Why should people draw in the earth waters of life for their souls? They have done so with dire results for their spiritual welfare (καλῶς εἶπες ὅτι ἄνδρα οὐκ ἔχω κτλ., Jno. 4, 17, 18). They have tried in vain to find life in the spiritual meal of the pagan mysteries, in the selfish and dishonest leadership of pagan saviours or shepherds—while the life without end and without limit

is found in the Christian mystery with its real presence of a Good Shepherd.

John was a Sadducee. The end of the Temple meant the practical end of the sacrificial system. In Judaism it left the field to the Pharisees, who reduced the priesthood to the shadow of itself. John's mind worked on another plane. He sublimated the sacrificial system and applied it in its own parish which was the Hellenistic soul.

The similarity between John and Paul does not come from any influence of one upon the other, but from the fact that the feelings of one who never quite forgot he had been a Sadducee could not be very different from one who had become anti-pharisaic. There is, however, a remarkable difference on the resurrection. There Paul builds on pharisaism, John with his far less definite, far more mystical teaching, is still a Sadducee.

It is true that there is much in the Gospel of John that can be found also in Talmud and Midrah. But certainly it would be a great error to call this literature the work of the Pharisees. The Sadducees had also their Halakhah, and if the lips of the priest kept knowledge (Malachi 2, 7), we are quite sure that he did not impart it without a *derush*. Indeed, the remnant of the Sadducees rejected the Talmud at a later age,⁴ but that was because it was not *their* "teaching."

Our conclusion is therefore that the Fourth Gospel was the work of a young man from Jerusalem, belonging to a wealthy priestly family, who is "the Disciple whom Jesus loved." We do not find in him any special sympathy for mystery religions.

January 1919.

⁴ Juster, *Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, I, 375.

REVIEWS

The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. VII. The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. 988.

After the death of Alexander the Great, three Hellenistic monarchies arose, Macedon, Egypt and the Seleucid Empire of the East. The growth and organization of these three monarchies are the main theme of the first part of this volume. Side by side with the political development of the Hellenistic monarchies, new movements arose in literature and philosophy as well as in religious and moral thought. Meanwhile, the Celts were making themselves felt in the West, crossing the Alps in the fourth century and the Balkans in the third. But Rome became a great state, and dominated the ancient world, rivalling Greece in its influence upon what later became the modern world. These are some of the movements and ideas discussed in this book. Then there are chapters on the growth of the Roman constitution, and on the political structure of Rome which became so influential in later time. Then Rome came into conflict with the Greeks of Southern Italy. She measured her strength with Pyrrhus and against the fleets and armies of Carthage. Rome was successful, and brought Sicily within the bounds of Roman Italy. Meanwhile, in the eastern half of the Mediterranean we witness the struggle of Egypt with Syria and Macedonia and the rise in Greece of the Aetolian and the Achaean leagues which prevented the union of Greece under Macedon. Then the pirate state of Illyria compelled the Republic to realize that the Adriatic has two coasts, and the Carthaginian Empire in Spain gave to Hannibal the means of accepting a conflict with Rome which was to end in the extension of Roman power along the northern coast of the Mediterranean.

Those chapters which next concern the average reader of our *Journal*, are chapter one where the Egyptian rite of deification is

discussed in which the two acts requisite for deification are emphasised: the divine conception and nativity of the king, and his enthronement; chapter four by Rostovtzeff on Ptolemaic Egypt; chapter five by the same author on Syria and the East; chapter eight by Barber on Alexandrian Literature; and chapter twenty-two on the Struggle of Egypt against Syria and Macedonia. This volume worthily takes its place besides the others in this great series.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume of Plates II. By C. T. Seltman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928, pp. 120, pls. 120. 9/- net.

This book provides illustrations for Volumes V and VI of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which treat of the Mediterranean world of which Greece was the centre during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. There are also some pictures of Egyptian work to illustrate Chapter VI of Volume VI. The plates are of the same excellence as those of Volume of Plates I, and the descriptions are adequate.

S. A. B. M.

Les Fouilles en Asie Antérieure à partir de 1843. Par Louis Speleers. Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1928, pp. 307, pls. LVII.

This work is the outcome of a course of lectures delivered in Brussels in 1926-1927. There is first an introduction containing much important information about excavations in general. Then Chapter one is devoted to Assyria, giving a history of excavations and their results, in Khorsabod, Nineveh, Calah, Balawat, and Assur. Chapter two is on Babylonia, with Uruk, Ur, Lagash, Sippar, Nippur, Adab, Kish, Babylon-Hillah, and Borsippa. The next chapter is on Persia-Elam; the fourth on Syria-Palestine; the fifth on the Hittite lands; and the last consists of valuable summaries.

A very valuable part of the book consists of chronological, geographic, and comparative tables, which will be found most useful. There is a fine appendix on excavations at Ur, in 1927-1928. There are three splendid indices.

The book is a very valuable and useful one. It deserves to be translated into English and German.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die protoelamitischen Kulturen und ihre Beziehungen zu Mesopotamien. Von Amalie Hertz. *Die Saalburg*, Bd. II, No. 3, 1928, pp. 72 ff.

A useful article.

S. A. B. M.

Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of Cappadocia. By Ferris J. Stephens. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928, pp. 98. \$3.00.

This is the day, in Assyriology, of Cappadocian texts, and among the chief of those working in this particular part of the field is Dr. Stephens. The purpose of his present publication is to present a complete list of the personal names found in the Cappadocian tablets, so far published, together with a glossary of the elements contained in the names. We have, therefore, in this handy volume "almost the entire number of personal names which were in use among the people represented by" the Cappadocian Texts.

In the introduction Dr. Stephens discusses the form *Al* as a divine name, as well as the elements EL.ŠÜ.GAL, BĀ.ŠĀ, MAN, the gods Sin and ZU, and some other signs peculiar to Cappadocian.

Not only have the names been listed, but the second and third elements of the names as well. The value of such a book as this is quite obvious to the Assyriologist.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

An Agreement between a Babylonian Feudal Lord and his Retainers in the Reign of Darius II. By H. F. Lutz. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928, pp. 269-277.

An interesting text with translation, transliteration and discussion.

S. A. B. M.

Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden. Übersetzt und erläutert von M. San Nicolò und A. Ungnad. Bd. I: *Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden der Berliner Museen*, Heft I, Nr. 1-117. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929, pp. 160. Mk. 20.00.

It is planned to publish translations and discussions of all Neo-Babylonian contracts wherever found. The work could not have been in the hands of a more competent Assyriologist than

Dr. Ungnad, and there is sufficient evidence that his colleague, San Nicolò, is equally well-prepared. It is a worthy continuation of Kohler and Ungnad's former publications of contracts.

S. A. B. M.

Straßburger Keilschrifttexte in sumerischer und babylonischer Sprache. Herausgegeben von Carl Frank. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1928, pp. 36, pls. XX. Mk. 3.00.

A publication of fifty texts, mostly letters and contracts, in the Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale in Strasbourg. The texts are valuable for various reasons, and especially as they contain some hitherto unknown signs. They are accurately rendered and discussed with much learning.

S. A. B. M.

Ägypten. Von Hermann Kees. Tübingen: Mohr, 1928, pp. 57. Mk. 2.80.

This is part 10 of Bertholet's *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*. The selections made by Dr. Kees are the best and most useful for the purpose in Egyptian literature. The translations are supplied with useful notes.

S. A. B. M.

Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. Im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien herausgegeben von Adolf Erman und Hermann Grapow. Fünfte Lieferung (= III. Bd., 1. Lief.). Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1928. Mk. 17.25.

The present part of the Great Dictionary of the Egyptian Language covers the words *ḥ* to *ḥ'j*, and is done with the same accuracy, scholarship, and care which have characterized the previous parts. The way in which Erman and Grapow are accomplishing their great task, leaves little to be desired.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Von Walter Wreszinski. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. II. Teil, Lieferungen 13-14. Mk. 70.00.

These two Lieferungen continue the pictures of the Battle of Kadesh. The plates are just as sumptuous as usual, and the descriptions are full of valuable historical and religious material.

S. A. B. M.

The Book of Ruth. By A. R. S. Kennedy. London: SPCK, 1928, pp. 79. *Texts for Students*, No. 42.

Here in convenient form is the Hebrew Text of the Book of Ruth with grammatical notes and vocabulary. An excellent edition!

S. A. B. M.

The Site of the Biblical Mount Sinai. By D. Nielson. Paris: Geuthner, 1928, pp. 24.

I think that Nielson has proved his point, namely, that Petra is the site of the Biblical Mount Sinai.

S. A. B. M.

Studien zur Septuaginta. Von Armand Kaminka. Frankfurt: J. Kauffmann Verlag, 1928, pp. 48.

A philological study of the Septuagint of the Minor Prophets.

S. A. B. M.

Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. Von Martin Noth. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1928, pp. 260. Mk. 12.00.

This book brings the study of Old Testament names thoroughly up-to-date. Besides a prolegomenon with four chapters on the sources, the grammatical structure of Semitic proper names, the classes of Semitic names, and the choice and giving of names, there are two main divisions, consisting of names in which one of the elements is a divine name, and then those names which express religious and moral ideas. The subject has been thoroughly explored in this book, and there is very little left undone. It will be the standard book on this subject.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

William Rainey Harper. By T. W. Goodspeed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. 242. \$3.00.

A small though intensely interesting biography of the first President of the University of Chicago. Dr. Harper was a remarkable man in many ways. He had the gifts of a teacher, the parts of a scholar, and the genius of a master builder. A man who could write a critical commentary on an Old Testament book, teach in a way in which few men can teach, and build in the course of a brief life-time one of the greatest of modern universities, is a very rare man. This book is a romance; it is one of the most fascinating I have ever read.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch. By Julian Morgenstern. Cincinnati, 1927. Reprinted from the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. IV, pp. 1—138.

We hope that the time will soon come when Dr. Morgenstern will publish an introduction to the Pentateuch. It will no doubt be an epoch making book. In the mean time we have to be satisfied with his monographs. In this remarkable study, the author takes up the problem of the Decalogue in Ex. 34 which he declares (*versus* Eerdmans and Pfeiffer) to be older than Ex. 20. He shows that it belongs to a Kenite document K which ignored a protracted sojourn (of forty years more or less) in the wilderness. This K document has been badly treated by the compiler of J. Dr. Morgenstern compares the laws of K in Ex. 34 and those of C in Ex. 20—23 and finds Deuteronomistic expansion in both. The original K code in Ex. 34 had eight laws. It is older than the original ritualistic decalogue called *debarim* of the Covenant Code which Dr. Morgenstern also reconstructs. Both these codes were written in a *sefer*, or scroll. The K document originated in the Southern Kingdom when pastoral life was beginning to decline. It fits in with the reformation of Asa in 899 B.C. when there must have been a strong Kenite, or more specifically Rechabite, influence.

We believe that Dr. Morgenstern has made a lasting contribution to Pentateuchal criticism. We think that the two additional laws of K (removed by J 2) were the two laws of the Rechabites, namely prohibition of building houses and of drinking wine. We would like to emphasize the fact that Manasseh was a divided tribe, one half remaining pastoral in Gilead, although there was not necessarily an influence of K on the Gileadites. Indeed the whole problem of

the evolution of Hebrew religion and culture has now become so complex, and the ordinary academic conception of the development of Hebrew legislation has proved to be so unsatisfactory that one longs for more monographs such as these. They do not only clarify the situation, but they make us think and hope that the restatement of the Pentateuch problem will come.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Hebrew Union College Annual. Cincinnati. Vol. III, 1926, pp. 375. \$3.00. Vol. IV, 1927, pp. 494. \$5.00.

In Vol. III of this publication we find an article by M. Guttmann on *The term "Foreigner" (nokri) historically considered* (pp. 1-20) where it is shown that the nokri maintains a connection with his native country while the ger does not. S. B. Finesinger writes on *Musical Instruments in O. T.* (pp. 21-76) with a bibliography. The kinnor is shown to have been like the Greek kithara, the nebel was a harp. J. Morgenstern contributes *Additional Notes on "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel"* (pp. 77-107) supplementing his magnificent article in HUC I, 13-78. Texts in Isaiah, Zech., Psalms, Prov., Job, Lam., Eccl., Dan. are explained by J. Reider in *Some Notes to the Text of the Scriptures* (pp. 109-116). V. Aptowitzer studies *the rewarding and punishing of animals and inanimate objects* (pp. 117-155) in the Aggadah which he compares to Moslem lore. L. Blau shows the importance of *Early Christian archaeology from the Jewish point of view* (pp. 157-214) in a thorough study of Kaufmann's *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*. In his *Ḳalir studies* I. Elbogen (pp. 215-224) reconstructs two poems for *tefilat tal*, and *tefilat geshem*. Israel Davidson edits *A didactic poem of Ṣahlal b. Netanel Gaon* (pp. 225-255). Jacob Mann contributes *A second supplement to "the Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs"* (pp. 257-308). A. Marx edits with introduction *the correspondence between the rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about astrology* (pp. 311-370).

In Vol. IV, A. Lewkowitz studies *Die Bibel und die jüdische Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart* (pp. 139-148), and I. Heinemann *Die Lehre vom ungeschriebenen Gesetz im jüdischen Schrifttum* in its historical evolution, comparing it with the *agraphos nomos*. J. Z. Lauterbach considers *A significant controversy between the Sadducees and the Pharisees* (pp. 173-205), bearing on the ritual

of the offering of incense on the Day of Atonement, when the Sadducee point of view was more conservative and superstitious. V. Aptowitzer studies *Spuren des Matriarchats im jüdischen Schrifttum* (pp. 207-240) in the Bible and Halacha. Jacob Mann studies *Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions* (pp. 241-302). He deals with ritual prohibitions during the Sassanid and Byzantine persecutions he adds a note on the *Date and place of redaction of Seder Eliyahu Rabba and Zuṭṭa* (pp. 302-310) which he shows to be a Babylonian work of the second half of the fifth century. H. G. Enelow edits *Midrash hashkem quotations in Alnaqua's Menorat ha-Maor* (pp. 311-343). S. Krauss gives us *Sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Texte des Sepher Ma'asijoth*, Ed. Gaster (pp. 345-364). Under the title "Gott wünscht das Herz": *Legenden über einfältige Andacht und über den Gefährten im Paradies* B. Heller studies Jewish, Christian and Moslem lore (pp. 365-404). I. Elbogen continues his *Ḳalir-Studien* (pp. 405-431) editing also several texts. A. Marx studies *Gabirol's Authorship of the Choice of Pearls and the two versions of Joseph Kimḥi's Shekel haḳodesh* (pp. 433-448). J. M. Toledano in his *תעודות מכתב-יד* (pp. 449-467) edits and translates into Hebrew some Genizah material. S. Gandz studies *The Astrolabe in Jewish Literature* (pp. 469-486). M. Ginsburger edits a text of *Bendel Ahrweiler* (pp. 487-491).

The publication of this excellent series of articles by Jewish scholars has become an eagerly awaited event.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch. Von Friedrich Schulthess. Herausgegeben von Enno Littmann. Mit Nachträgen von Theodor Nöldeke und dem Herausgeber. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1924, pp. XVI+159. 8^o.

The Christian-Palestinian Aramaic language and literature present a considerably recent recovery of a branch of Semitic culture. About eighty years ago the only hint of it was the Assemanis' announcement of a Vatican lectionary in Palestinian, or, as they wrongly termed it, Jerusalem Syriac. In 1864 this was published by Miniscalchi-Erizzo, and with it the unearthing of the literature begins. J. P. N. Land followed in 1875 with fragments at the British Museum and Leningrad, but until about the beginning of the

present century practically nothing more had been done. However, the activity of the last half of the nineteenth century in this field has been so great as to render it an epoch in the study of Christian-Palestinian Aramaic. In 1890 J. Rendel Harris published part of Galatians from a Sinai leaf. In 1891 G. K. Chester secured five palimpsest leaves in Egypt and sent them to the Bodleian. In 1892 Lagarde re-edited the Vatican lectionary. In 1893 Gwilliam published five biblical fragments from the Chester Palimpsests, and in the same year in the appendix of Mrs. Lewis' *Studia Sinaitica*, I, there appeared notices of Palestinian Syriac manuscripts and fragments deciphered by Dr. Harris. In 1896 Margoliouth edited the *Liturgy of the Nile* from a manuscript in the British Museum, while Gwilliam, Stenning and Burkitt issued homilies and biblical fragments from St. Catherine's and the Bodleian libraries. In 1897 Mrs. Lewis with some help from Prof. Nestle and Mrs. Gibson issued another lectionary from a manuscript acquired in Cairo and in 1899 appeared *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels* edited by Mrs. A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson. In 1900 there appeared a volume of palimpsest fragments from the Cairo Genizah the publication of which brought to an end an extraordinary decade of the study of Palestinian Syriac in the nineteenth century.

It is only in the present century that the lexical and grammatical aspects of the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic have been given greater attention than heretofore. The origin and history of the dialect still represent a region comparatively unexplored. It came down to us in a most incomplete state and many problems of detail will for a long while remain uncertain. On the basis of the available material, however meagre it be, we have now a fairly good survey of the grammatical data pertaining to the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic.

It is certainly gratifying to have such a work from the pen of so eminent a scholar as Friedrich Schulthess (1868-1922), who devoted several decades of his life to the study of the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic. During his life time the author of the *Lexicon Syro-palaestinum* (1903) was regarded as the most competent person to prepare a grammar of the dialect in which he hardly had a peer. It is to be regretted, however that he was not spared to finish the task which he had set himself. It was his intention to do much more than what is presented in the present volume. The absence of the scien-

tific treatment of the pronunciation of the syntax of the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic the plan of which is mentioned in the author's preface, is certainly disappointing. Though the work lacks paradigms, it nevertheless has the earmarks of having been prepared as a textbook. In fact the preface states that originally the volume was intended for the *Porta Linguarum Orientalum*—the well known German series of textbooks for the study of the Semitic languages. It presents an indispensable work of reference for the student of Aramaic dialects. It is a book which will probably not be replaced for a long time to come and consists of a grammar and chrestomathy containing biblical and non-biblical selections. The bibliography which lists fifty-four items; the chrestomathy (26 pp.) and the vocabulary, which, by the way, is rather inadequate, are certainly useful tools for the student seeking a means of approach to the study of a language and literature, not yet sufficiently known even in circles of Semitic students.

The manuscript which survived the author was, in fairly complete state, ready for the printer. It was subjected to slight revision by Enno Littmann, who jointly with Theodor Nöldeke are responsible for the additional notes (pp. 149–159) which, in themselves, enhance the value of the book. These notes contain a large number of additions and corrections. Unfortunately a number of misprints and other errors found their way into the book. One or two examples is sufficient to indicate their nature. Page 22 line 16, the transcription of σ in Μισσηλ by ʕ is hardly due to assimilation. Page 49 line 9, the ending of قنہومع = σύνδομοι is simply a reproduction of οἱ -in not *āin*.

It must be borne in mind that the book represents a pioneer work which is intended to serve a useful purpose. It certainly should serve as an incentive for a greater interest on the part of Semitic students in an almost unexplored and evidently somewhat neglected field of study.

JOSHUA BLOCH

The Old Testament. An American Translation. By A. R. Gordon, T. J. Meek, J. M. Powis Smith, L. Waterman. The University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 1725. \$7.50.

The translators are well known in the field of Semite Studies. They are familiar with all critical discoveries. They are also well

qualified in the use of the English language. A critical review of this work would fill volumes. We shall limit ourselves to a few general observations. The work done is unequal in value. Amos has been well rendered. But, why tell us that to "eat rams" is a luxury (Amos C. 24)? Surely, a ram is no delicacy. The parallelism itself would require "lamb" as King James version had it. Moreover, the meaning "fat lamb" is attested in later Hebrew writings. In the Psalms the Masoretic text was perhaps too closely followed, in Proverbs too often emended. The rendering "strutting cock" Prov. 30, 31 should never have been adopted. *Zarzir* means a wrestler in later Hebrew. Moreover, it is difficult to understand what the *motnaim* of a cock can be. Isaiah and Jeremiah are magnificent and the Psalms are translated in a worthily manner, although sometimes too freely as in Ps. 49, 5 b where the Hebrew is syntactically correct. The text emendations adopted are explained for more critical readers in the textual notes at the end of the volume.

It is only to be regretted that the work was not entrusted to one person such as the general editor of the book. More uniformity in the way of treating the text would certainly have improved this work. However, it is to be highly commended. It will give to many readers a new understanding of the Bible. JOHN A. MAYNARD

A history of Messianic speculation in Israel from the first through the seventeenth century. By Abba Hillel Silver. New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. 284.

This volume surveys the Messianism in Israel from 70 A.D. to the Shabbetai Zebi movement. The first part takes up the Messianic calculation in theory and practice. The author shows that the outburst of popular Messianism in the first century of our era was due to the popular Jewish chronology of the day which held that the sixth millennium, the age of the Kingdom of God was at hand. The belief in the early advent of the Messiah was shattered by the Bar Kochba tragedy and then 400 years were added as being the length of the sojourn in Egypt. In the fifth century no Messiah came, but the wonderful way of Islam gave rise to new hopes. The Crusades and the suffering it entailed in Israel caused new calculations to be made, as did also the persecutions of the middle age

and the expulsion from Spain and Portugal. The year 1648 gave rise to intense hopes, with which Christian speculation was not unconnected. In the second part the author shows the opposition to Messianic Calculations in Talmud and in rabbinical writers. In the third part he takes up the five methods of calculation. The book is provided with an index. The author covered the Talmudic and rabbinical material most thoroughly. Our only criticism besides a few misprints is that since a book of this value deserves to be known by a large constituency, that many Hebrew quotations have been left untranslated.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Soncino-Blätter. Beiträge zur Kunde des jüdischen Buches. Soncino-Gesellschaft der Freunde des jüdischen Buches. II. Band. Berlin, 1927, pp. 198.

In this magnificent volume we find articles by S. Krauss on the situation of the Siddurim (with notes by Prof. Marx); a description of the manuscripts of the Makhsor in Breslau by Dr. P. de Haas; a note by Mr. Schorr on the new edition of Ozar ha-Sepharim; a study by J. Meisl on the Jewish Calendars published in Berlin; a note on a manuscript of Sebastian Munster by Z. Schwarz; an article on the Library of D. Oppenheim by A. T. Hartmann; an article by G. Kaupt, with fine illustrations on artistic objects used in ritual and several other articles, a long bibliography of recent Judaica and an index.

The work of the various contributors is excellent; the typographical execution is worthy of the ancient name of Soncino.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Actes du Sixième Congrès de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines. Rabat, 1928, pp. 64.

Report of the Congress held at the Institute of Maroccan Studies in Rabat. There were several sections. The report on North African linguistics is interesting. Mr. Laoust traces to Arabic most of the Berbet words relating the tent. Some of the words that he ascribes to Latin seem to us to be Semitic. There are reports on most aspects of North African culture.

J. A. M.

Pour Apprendre l'Arabe. Par G. Hug et G. Habachi. Paris: Geuthner, 1928, pp. 135. Fr. 20.00.

This is the best little manual for the study of the Arabic of modern Egypt known to me. It is in transliteration which makes it suitable for popular use. The method is simplicity itself, and is strongly commended.

S. A. B. M.

La Berberie Orientale sous la Dynastie des Benou'L-Arlab, 800-909. Par M. Vonderheyden. Paris: Geuthner, 1927, pp. 350. Fr. 75.00.

The Arlabite Dynasty in the eastern country of the Moghrev marks a time of transition in the history of that country. Before this dynasty it was a Moslem country with many traces of the old Latin culture. Out of the Arlabite period evolved Mediaeval Tunis as it remained almost to our days. Thus was that province of Ifriqiya a meeting place of the Mediterranean and Arabic cultures. For another reason this is an interesting period since it marks the nominal triumph of Shiite Doctrine in that region. Bearing in mind the importance of the Arlabite Dynasty one can appreciate still more the value of the work of Dr. Vonderheyden which covers the history of the period and surveys the relations of the Emirs with the Califs of Baghdad, the status of the native population, the organization of the Arabic militia, the condition of the scholars and religious men and the officials of the court. There is a masterful study of the politics of the Emirs both as their and in their relation with foreign countries. In the history of Islam the Arlabite Dynasty is almost an exception in that it had an important navy. The author shows also very well the interrelation of religious and tribal politics at the period. We regret, however, that he seems to be unacquainted with some of the American literature.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escurial. Par H. Derenbourg and E. Levi-Provençal. Vol. III. Paris: Geuthner, 1928, pp. 341, pls. 2.

This volume continues the well known catalogue of H. Derenbourg. It has been prepared on the basis of the notes left by him which are now edited by Prof. E. Levi-Provençal.

The first section takes up books of theology, Qur'an and Quranic commentaries, Moslem theology, Christian works on Islamic subject, books of geography and history. The total number of notices is about 600. There are also two beautiful plates of Qur'ans.

This publication completes the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts or the Escorial which is only a remnant of the Old Library which was partly destroyed by fire. The work began by Derenbourg has been efficiently brought to a conclusion by the distinguished Professor of the Institute of Rabat.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Wisdom of the Prophets (in the Light of Tasawwuf). By Khan Sahib Khaja Khan, B. A. Royapettak. Madras, 1929, pp. 202.

The author of this book is a well known writer on Sufism, and this volume gives an abridged translation with notes of Fusus-ul-Hikam of rather short work of Ibn Arabi on Tasawwuf. To this task the Editor brought the necessary knowledge of languages as well as the no less necessary acquaintance with Moslem mysticism. The prophets referred to in the title are those that are mentioned in the Koran, Muhamad being the last one. This book will prove interesting to any person who wants to understand the spiritual aspect of Islam.

The preface contains a few wrong statements of the Bible. There is at the end of the book a very useful glossary. It is a very interesting book and one that will be very useful and will help create interest in the extensive writings of Ibn Arabi.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

L'Œuvre Française en Matière d'Enseignement au Maroc. Par R. Gaudefroy-Demombynes. Paris: Geuthner, 1928, pp. 247. Fr. 50.00.

In this book Professor Gaudefroy-Demombynes describes the remarkable educational work that has taken place in French Morocco. The first part covers the teachings of Moslems both the elementary teaching in the Koranic schools and the higher teaching which the Government tried to reform. The author takes up afterwards the development of education of Moslem children in modern subjects either among the poor or through schools for the

aristocracy. The problems which make those various tasks exceedingly difficult are discussed at length. In the second part the author studies the education of Jews in Morocco, and in the third part the teaching of European children. Due attention is given to the school of higher studies in Rabat which has done so much for the scientific study of Moslem civilization in Morocco.

This book is well written, clear and fair and gives an excellent introduction to a question which is of vital importance.

J. A. M.

Ethiopica and Amharica. Compiled by George F. Black. New York: The New York Public Library, 1928, pp. 87.

This is a bibliography of all works on Ethiopica and Amharica owned by the New York Public Library on August 1, 1928. The collection is quite large and undoubtedly one of the best in this country. A concise but comprehensive introduction upon ethnological, historical, and linguistic matters—together with a short survey of Ethiopiology—offers an admirable background for a little known subject. The bibliographical material is conveniently listed under eighteen sections, such as "Bibliography, Periodicals and Collections, History of Ethiopic Language and Literature, &c."; and there is an exhaustive and general index of the same at the end of the volume. Each title is carefully and fully described. Briefly, in format and arrangement we have a splendid example of what a bibliography should be. A comparison of this book with Fumagalli's *Bibliografia etiopica* indicates, not only the quality of the former, but also the advance made in Library Science since 1893. Within the narrow limits prescribed Dr. Black has done an excellent piece of work, and its usefulness will extend far beyond the Reference Department of the New York Public Library.

H. M. HYATT